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ABSTRACT

The teacher's manual for a secondary Course I, Unit III, guides the class in common experiences of the community politics game and additional classroom activities that emphasize variables in political processes. Objectives are for students to gain an understanding of basic community political processes by analyzing selected issues. Values, decisions, issues, authority, influence, political resources, leader, and political activity are concepts contained in the topics sections which will be drawn from experiences provided in this unit. The second half of the guide provides a student manual. A closely related document is SO 002 171. Other related documents are ED 048 062, and SO 003 169 through SO 003 175. (Author/SJM)

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MAN'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

Teacher's Manual

1968

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University High School, Urbana, Illinois, for use in
University High School and Selected Cooperating Schools.

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MAN'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

TEACHER MANUAL

Prepared by the Social Science Curriculum Study Center,
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1212 West Springfield Avenue,
Urbana, Illinois

SP 003170

April 1968

[redacted]

PREFACE

The Social Science Curriculum Study Center at University High School, University of Illinois, Urbana, has as its objective the development of the first three courses in a sequential junior-senior high school social studies program. These three basic courses for the secondary school social studies are a part of a five-year sequence designed to contribute to a program of study that introduces the student to: (1) the structure of man's social order and how this social order relates to the individual in his own and other cultures; (2) the dynamic nature of cultures and the role of the individual in relation to cultural change; (3) cultural diversity.

The development of the three sequential social studies courses begins, first, with the identification and selection of concepts and generalizations essential to understanding man's relationships to his social, economic, and political institutions at different periods in time in our own culture and in other selected western and non-western cultures. In developing the new course materials, priority is given to achieving maximum involvement of the student to the end that he arrives INDUCTIVELY at the concepts and generalizations and develops skill in analysis. Students are introduced to the methodology of social scientists and historians as they conduct their own investigations of the societies studied in the new course materials.

Instructional materials appropriate to teaching the concepts, generalizations, and skills in social analysis are selected using the best of existing materials and developing new materials to achieve the objectives of the new social studies program. Evaluation materials are developed concurrently with the new instructional materials to measure the degree to which content, materials, and procedures achieve the predetermined objectives.

The procedure followed in the development of each of the three courses involves these five stages:

1. Identification of concepts, generalizations, and skills of social analysis by the project staff in cooperation with academic specialists in art, cultural anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, regional area studies, sociology, psychology, and teacher education.

2. Preparation of the new course materials and evaluation instruments which are then tried out in the University of Illinois High School.

3. Revision of the new course and evaluation materials and preparation of a Teacher's Manual with tryout in a small number of selected pilot schools whose teachers have benefit of consultant help by the project staff including orientation to the new materials in summer institutes.

4. Second revision of the new course materials and evaluation instruments and tryout in a larger number of cooperating public schools with continued teaching at the University of Illinois High School.

5. Further analysis of selected data from trial in the University of Illinois High School, pilot, and cooperating schools and publication of the new course materials.

The material in this TEACHER MANUAL, MAN'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, is the third of three units in the First Course. These materials are being field tested and revisions will be made on the basis of the findings.

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Cooperating teachers are responsible for collecting upon completion of each unit, and returning to the SSCSC, the student manuals in the number to be determined by the Project Director. All Teacher's Manuals are to be returned, also. These are collected for purposes of further study, evaluation, and revision.

April 1968-2

Ella C. Leppert, Director
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MAN'S POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

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14. Westin, Alan F. (ed.) The Uses of Power: Seven Cases in American Politics. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1962. Paperback $2.75.

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13-18 [A Day in the Life of Congressman Dirksen]

Excerpt from "Congressman: A Case History." In Fortune Magazine, April 1943.

23-28 [A College for Jefferson County]

Timothy W. Scholl, "A College for Jefferson County?" In Cases in State and Local Government, by Richard T. Frost, Ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961).

43-45 [Walnuts and Chickens]

Member of the House Letters by a Congressman by Clem Miller, pp. 134-136, 137-140, edited by John W. Baker (Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962).

46-47 [The Doctors Exercise Group Influence]

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48-54 [Something New on Elm Street]

Stephen A. Mitchell, Elm Street Politics (New York: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1959), pp. 11-18.

55-56, 57 [Asch Experiment]

S. E. Asch, "Effects of Group Pressure Upon the Modification and Distortion of Judgments" in Harold Guetzkow (ed.), Groups, Leadership, and Men (Pittsburg: Carnegie Press, 1951), pp. 181-182.

60 [short quotes]

Robert Dahl, Who Governs? (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 78.

62-63 [short quote]

Ibid., p. 157.

64-69 [Campaigning for Congress]

Voorhis, Jerry. Confessions of a Congressman (Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1947).

71-75 [Richard Nixon Runs for the Senate]

Abridgment of pp. 72-83 Richard Nixon: A Political and Personal Portrait by Earl Mazo (Harper and Row, Publishers, Inc., 1959).

77-82 [John Kennedy Runs for the Senate]

Condensed from John Kennedy: A Political Profile, 1959, 1960, 1961, by James MacGregor Burns (Harcourt and Brace, pp. 102-105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114-115).

84-87 [Congratulations Jack]

Ibid., pp. 185-188.

POLITICAL ISSUES

GENERALIZATION: All societies have conflicts over how things of value will be allocated.

1. The primary objective of this game is to give the class a common experience involving several important variables in the political process. "Issue," "values," "decision," "authority," "influence," "political resources," "leader," and "political activity," are concepts which will be drawn, in part, from the experiences in this game. Students will probably question why the political resources (PRU's) are not distributed equally at the beginning. This discomfort will be valuable later when we center upon the idea that political resources are not evenly distributed in any political system. You may also point out that, for purposes of the game, the winner is the one who increases his resources most--not the one who winds up with the highest number of PRU's. We would appreciate your reactions and suggestions for strengthening this game. 1

CONCEPTS: Conflict, Issue

2. For an issue to arise, we must assume some conflict of values (either real or perceived). Thus, had there been unanimous agreement about downtown redevelopment, it would not be considered an issue for our purposes.

CONCEPT: Value

3. An example of a reason for favoring downtown redevelopment might be "it would be good for my business" or "it would make parking easier when I shop." Underlying values for these might be "wealth," or "convenience." Other values should begin to come to light in class discussion, such as "prestige," "health and recreation," or even "equality of opportunity" (in connection with the low-cost housing project). We are making no attempt to identify or classify all the values that might account for political conflicts, but rather to examine a few of the more obvious ones. It is important that students not be left with the impression that all the things valued are material in nature (such as wealth)--people also place value on "freedom of speech," for instance, which may not produce material rewards. One value may, of course, support more than one reason. Similarly, a single reason may be based upon more than one value. These relationships may be shown by connecting the boxes with arrows.

   At the end of item 3, students should see that issues may arise over conflicts among the people over which values are most important. When you reach this point in your discussion, ask the students to put their generalization to this effect in the space just before item 4.

CONCEPT: Allocation of values

4. Even if everyone agreed on the things they valued most, there would still be room for conflict about how these things of value should be distributed among the population. The subtitle of Harold Lasswell's classic volume, Politics is Who Gets What, When and How, suggests that agreement upon what things are most important still does not solve the problem of who gets them. 2

5. Political activity as represented in the game helped to resolve three conflicts over values. All of the electioneering, voting, negotiating, and decision-making, can be construed as contributing to this one primary outcome.

6. This item, taken from Small Town in Mass Society by A. J. Vidich and J. Bensman (Doubleday Anchor, 1960), pp. 164-170, is included to help students begin to look at political issues in terms of basic conflicts resulting from differences in values. Whether or not they agree with the way this issue was resolved, they should not miss the point that it was resolved, at least temporarily, by means of political activity.

GENERALIZATION: Political activity provides the means by which value conflicts may be resolved.

7. By now we can say with more assurance that the basic function of political activity is to resolve conflicts which arise over questions of value (including how these things of value will be distributed.) Don't be too insistent upon having the generalization stated in the form you consider most appropriate at this point, if the student has grasped the essence of the process. 3

SKILL: Identifying issues and underlying values.

8. Aside from giving students an idea of the scope of issues which plague a complex society, this reading should give them an opportunity to make some inferences about what things various people in the system consider important. The source is An Introduction to Political Analysis by Robert E. Lane, et. al. (Prentice-Hall, 1962), pp. 184-186.

Seventh Day

5

Here the teacher may want to substitute a new issue and a subsequent election based on that issue, for the plain election that is suggested.

It is suggested that the students take part in deciding what the next issue, issue No. 4, shall be. This would perhaps add more motivation to the election, and, we hope, compensate for the overwhelming influence that the political process itself, i.e., convincing others, planning strategy, organizing a coalition, etc., seems to have on the fate of the issues.

Some suggested issues that may have both meaning and significance for the students are the following:

1. Should the school year be lengthened so that students would attend classes for approximately 11 months of the year?

2. Should teenagers be required by the city government to contribute two weeks of their summer vacation in order to work on community service projects, i.e., visiting sick, assisting in child care centers, etc.?

In order for the new issue, issue No. 4, to remain paramount during the campaign and election, it is recommended that prior roles and political resource units be discontinued. All students would be issued two political resource units for the new election, and a student's role would consist of a position, for or against the issue.

It would be interesting and significant experimentally to secure two "observations" of a person's position concerning the issue. One "observation" could be secured just after study and discussion of the issue (by having each student record his name and position privately on a slip of paper). The second "observation" could be secured after the students have been exposed to political influence, through personal persuasion, organizational techniques, and campaign speeches, etc. (by having the student indicate his or her position concerning the issue on the election ballot).

Any differences in the positions of students between observations 1 and 2 could reasonably be attributed to "political influence."

POLITICAL DECISIONS

GENERALIZATION: Many conflicts over things of value are resolved by means of a political decision.

1. The council was prescribing a way in which the conflict could be resolved. In our game, this prescription (according to the directions) has to be either in favor of the bill or against it, ignoring the important possibility of a compromise resolution. Most students will probably use the verb "decide" in their answer, which will lead right into item 2. 19

CONCEPT: Political decision

2. The council decided upon a course of action, but the values are not actually redistributed until their decision is put into effect and enforced. We will pursue this point, at present, but students should see that it is possible to make decisions which are never put into effect. The decision-making process is only a part of the larger task of reallocating values.

GENERALIZATION: Political discussions are not made only by "legislative" bodies.

3. Here we have a somewhat more complex case. While the issue and the decision are clearcut, the underlying values involved may not be so readily apparent. Decisions, of course, are not always made by legislative bodies--in this case the decision was made by the electorate itself. Political decisions may be made by a wide variety of political actors, ranging all the way from the electorate to a single administrator.

CONCEPT: Authority

4. At this point we begin to develop the basic concept of authority. We trust that there will be substantial agreement that the umpire (or, for the more knowledgable fans, the plate umpire) makes the decision. Anyone who has watched baseball knows that there may well be disagreement over his decision, but the umpire has the final say. (Even the Commissioner of Baseball refuses to review such "judgment" decisions of umpires.) Both teams ultimately accept the decision because the rules of the game give the umpire the right to make it. Players, managers, and fans have come to recognize the right of the umpire to make such decisions, even when they may disagree with the decision. 19-20

The same may be said of the council in the community politics game. Although the players may not have liked its decisions, they probably did not challenge its right to make them, since it was given that right in the rules. The crucial element of this concept of authority is that the decision-maker is viewed by others in the system as having a legitimate or moral right to make a binding decision. Authority relationships exist in many social groups, including the family, church, school, etc. and it is not difficult to find examples where authority rests with a single individual for certain decisions.

5. Authority is usually limited in some way. The umpire can make certain decisions only. He cannot rule a batter out because he has red hair, nor can he rule out because he got a lucky break. Political decision-making bodies are also limited in the kinds of decisions they can make. 21

GENERALIZATION: Societies must grant authority and place limits upon it.

6. "Legend of the Longhouse" points out the dilemma a society would face if no authority were exercised. But it also shows the necessity for limiting authority. Ultimately authority is always limited by what others in the system view as the proper realm of the decision-maker, but the rules may take many forms. They may be embodied in constitutions, laws, religion, tradition, or simply in public opinion. The final exercise in this item is intended to reinforce the point that authority is relational in nature--that is, it should be thought of in terms of the relationship of one role to other roles. Students should also begin to see that authority is a useful concept in many areas outside the political sphere. 21

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

1. You may wish to remind your students of the concept of "interaction" to which they were briefly exposed in the family unit. Implicit in the idea of interaction is the notion that the behavior of one or both parties is altered by virtue of the relationship. The crucial element in the concept of influence is that the behavior of the recipient in the relationship is changed from what he would have done--a policeman who persuades a jumper standing on a seventh-floor ledge to stay where he is may be exercising influence. Whether the affection behavior needs to be in a direction the influencer intended is a moot, and perhaps somewhat academic, point. It can be argued that a teacher, for example, who drones on about how interested students should be in history until the students are bored to death, may be exercising "negative" influence. 29

   Students should not let their judgments as to whether the influence was good or bad get in their way at this point. Influence may work both ways, but the important question is "was behavior affected as a consequence of the interaction."

   In the literature of political science and sociology distinctions are often made between "influence," "power," and "force," relationships. Although there is not universal agreement, if sanctions (rewards or punishments) are employed, promised, or threatened, the relationship is usually referred to as "power." If actual physical coercion is involved it is a "force" relationship. We are not attempting to make these distinctions with the students, and will refer to all such relationships, whether the instrument is persuasion, sanctions, coercion, manipulation, etc. as "influence."

2. We are now attempting to bridge the gap between personal influence and political influence. Changes in policy obviously affect the behavior of many people. Attempts to affect public policy, then, if successful, may be construed as political influence. Principals, teachers, and (in a few rare schools) student council presidents, would be likely nominations for influentials in school policy. The types of acts over which influence is exercised is termed "scope" of influence. 30

3. Since the game is built around three policy questions, it may reasonably be assumed that all instances of influence were directed at shaping this policy. Even influence exercised in elections is ultimately employed to affect policy, and will qualify as political influence.

4. An interesting question arises here which may cause some trouble. Suppose John Sands turned into quite a political animal on the downtown renewal issue and influenced a council member or two to vote for the proposition. But his efforts fell short, and downtown renewal was defeated. Can we then say that John exercised political influence? The technical answer is "no" since on this issue, at least, he did not affect policy. He did, obviously, exercise some personal influence.

5. Make every effort to respect the wishes of parents not to have their choice of "influentials" become public. This can be done by having the student identify the influentials only by occupation in his manual. He should turn in an unsigned notebook sheet for tabulation which contains the names of his influentials as well as their occupation and why their support is desired. You may appoint a committee to tabulate the results listing the names of men who appear on several lists, and reasons commonly given for their selection. 31

   This technique, incidently, is a much simplified version of a method of studying community power structure known as "reputational analysis." It was first used by Floyd Hunter in his famous study of Atlanta entitled Regional City. The method has been soundly criticized, on numerous grounds, but this is not unexpected in any study that deals with the fundamental question "who influences public policy?" For a contrasting approach you may wish to look at Robert Dahl's Who Governs?

6. Remember that to qualify as political influence the act must have affected policy. In the case of Springdale, policy stayed pretty much the same, so those who were instrumental in keeping it that way would be the influentials. West influenced a number of voters, but ultimately had little or no effect upon policy.

   One of the thorniest problems in measuring influence in any precise way is agreeing upon a unit of measurement. It is difficult, if not impossible, to specify a unit of "influence," but this will have to be done before we can make such studies quantitative. At present, they remain, for the most part, based upon analysis of issues, with the investigator making judgments about who exercised how much influence.

   Above all, the student should begin to see that influence is not distributed evenly among the population of any political system. In any system we know of, some people exercise more influence upon policy than others. Should anyone venture to question this, a short research project on that might be an appropriate assignment.

POLITICAL RESOURCES

1. In this section we will be looking at the resources which are useful in affecting public policy. There is an obvious disparity in the resources commanded by Paul Douglas and Ellen Smalley which may be used for this purpose. Ellen would be able to muster few resources with which she could influence policy; Douglas, on the other hand, has a vast array of resources which can be converted into influence. 33

2. Once students understand what is meant by political resources, they should begin to use the concept. Some excerpts from The Last Hurrah provide an opportunity for frank appraisal of McCluskey's political resources. It would be desirable to have a few copies of Edwin O'Connor's excellent political novel, The Last Hurrah, available for the students. (New York: Bantam Books, 1956) Pages 72-74 and 89-90 are especially relevant to political resources. They may also be used to make the additional point that what is a resource in one place (Catholicism, for example) may not be so useful in another setting. In reviewing the reading onJefferson County, the students may find other types of resources which can be included in the chart as examples of political resources. 33

   Wealth, time, intelligence, public office, popularity, control over information, control over jobs, social standing, energy, education, a vote, and what is sometimes called "solidarity" (the capacity to gain support from others who view themselves as similar due to religion, club memberships, etc.), friendship, and the right to make laws are a few frequently cited political resources, though by no means a comprehensive list. ✓

3. The answer to this question will require some examination of how school policy is formulated. You will probably find that most of the resources which may be used to shape school policy would also be useful in the political system at large. 34

   If one of the important resources uncovered is the position of the principal, it is clear that not everyone in the school can have this resource. Other resources may also be available to only a few. Most will be scattered unevenly among people connected with the school.

4. It may be that some of the "reasons" given for selecting a particular "influential" are themselves statements of resources ("He's the Mayor" or "He has a great deal of money.") Others may have to be derived or inferred from the reasons given.

5. Hopefully no one will wish to argue this point. By this time they should see that all resources are distributed unevenly throughout the system. Even the ballot in a democratic society may not be available, in practice, to all members. It might be argued that virtually everyone (even students) have some resources which may be used to exercise political influence. But some quite clearly have far more than others. 34

6. Most political resources can, of course, be useful for things other than exercising influence. A wealthy man must decide whether to use his money to start a new business, build a new estate, vacation in Europe, or influence the next election. He may decide not to use it at all. Education, popularity, etc. may also be useful in many fields of activities other than politics. Having political resources is not the same as exercising political influence. Many men have vast resources at their command, but do not choose to exert influence upon policy.

POLITICAL GROUPS

38

CONCEPT: Political strategy

1. The major content objective of this section is the understanding that political influence is increased when people enter into groups to achieve the things they value. In the first item we ask students to plan their strategy for influencing the state government on a specific issue operating strictly as an individual. They may decide to commit some time, and money, or capitalize upon their friendship with neighbors or friends, but they must carry this out as an individual. You may also want to devote some time to exploring where, at the state level, influence may most effectively be exerted. Who are the decision-makers who would have to be influenced to change this kind of policy? 38

   You may use 3 x 5 notecards to build up an inventory of resources at the disposal of the pro and con factions on this issue. Make sure each student has signed his name to each card and quantified the resource if at all possible (e.g., how much time, how much money, etc.)

SKILL: Group Organization

2. The time which should be devoted to the development of strategy for group action can best be gauged by the teacher. If one session has produced results, this may be adequate. On the other hand, if students give close attention to how the group is to be organized

and how they can best allocate their political resources (including who is going to do what jobs) the exercise may take longer. There is a good opportunity here for representatives for each side to make summarizing reports of their strategy to the class and answer questions raised by other members of the class. The daring teacher may even want to make some assessment of which group has organized and allocated its resources more effectively.

GENERALIZATION: Political influence is increased when people enter into groups.

3. At the end of the exercise in item 2 the students should begin to see some of the advantages which a group has over an individual in exercising influence. By pooling resources the group may be in a position to enter into a wider range of activities and to carry out each of the activities more effectively. People can be channeled into the type of work where they have the most skill, instead of everyone having to do a little bit of everything. There may be sufficient money for equipment, advertisements, etc. which no individual member could afford. Strategy may be coordinated to prevent duplication of effort. Your students may see other advantages which arise from group activity. 39

   By this time the students should be ready to make a generalization to the effect that when individuals combine into groups to influence policy they will be more effective than when they act separately.

CONCEPT: Group

4. The two additional characteristics of group, when used in the technical sense, are (a) interaction, and (b) a common purpose (or purposes). You may wish to ask if the groups into which they organized met these criteria. 40

5. It is probable that informal groups arose at several points in the political game to exert influence upon policy. This influence may have been indirect, in that it was directed toward electing decision-makers who would decide the issues a certain way.

SKILL: Generalizing from descriptive data

6. In this reading we have a neat contrast of two interests, the walnut growers and the dairy interest, as they tried to influence policy at the national level. It is apparent that the walnut growers were successful whereas the dairymen were not. The difference lies largely in the degree to which the walnut growers acted as a group, pooling resources, hiring experts, consistently exerting influence at the most strategic points. If you wish to explore this further, ask the students what the dairymen could have done to be more effective.

SKILL: Inferring motives from political activity	GENERALIZATION: Influence may be exercised by selecting new decision makers	
7. Whether or not the nation should have a compulsory health insurance program was the central issue in this reading. We may infer that the doctors valued the freedom of patients to choose their doctor and the freedom of doctors to choose their own rates, among other things, which they believed were threatened by this bill. Their campaign was not waged primarily on these grounds, however, but on the argument that taxes would be increased and take-home pay reduced. Although Dr. Conn distributed his leaflets individually, he was almost certainly acting as a member of a group engaging in a coordinated effort. You can find numerous other examples of resources at the disposal of the doctors being used in this conflict. At this point they had given up on influencing incumbents, and were concentrating upon electing men as decision-makers who would be favorably disposed to their cause. In general, then, we may say that influence may be exercised not only by changing the behavior of decision-makers already in office, but by selecting new decision-makers who will, in turn, affect policy in the way you desire.		41
8. The Elm Street club attempted to exercise influence upon party policy, selection of candidates, and certain state issues, such as the court reform amendment. Within its precincts it grew to be quite effective. From this example, the students may see another important advantage of group activity. As people join groups they may be persuaded to commit more of their resources to the objectives of that group. It seems certain that most of the members of this club became enthusiastic enough about its objectives that they wound up devoting more time, skills, money, etc. to its activities than they would have devoted to political matters as individuals.		42

The replication of this social psychology experiment may be difficult to accomplish in a classroom setting, but it should be worth a try. Divide the class into groups of five. Any extras may join the last group. Ask the members of each group to number off from one to five in the order they are sitting (they may wish to pull their chairs together or sit around tables if possible.) A set of direction sheets goes to each group (be sure that player 1 in each group gets his direction sheet, player 5 gets his, and the others get the ones marked 2, 3, 4. The players should not see each others directions. FOR THIS REASON THE DIRECTION SHEETS FOR PLAYERS 1-5 ARE IN THE TEACHER MANUAL ONLY. The last group will not get a regular set of direction sheets, but each member will get one of the sheets marked with a "C"--this sheet is in all of the student manuals. Have all students read their directions carefully. Consult individually with anyone who has questions. 55 56→

The number three player in each group will display the trial sheets one at a time in order. The ostensible object is for each player to attempt to match the length of one of the numbered lines with the length of the top line (x). In fact, however, the first player in each group has been instructed to give a number of incorrect responses, and players 2, 3, and 4 have been instructed to follow his lead. Player 5 is not in on this, and is placed in the dilemma of either declaring against his perception, or against the majority of the group. We are attempting to see if he will ever go along with the group against what he must have perceived.

Player 1 has his responses built into his direction sheet. He must stick faithfully to the script, and players 2, 3, and 4 must follow him faithfully. Player 1 will also keep score by recording all responses in the appropriate spaces on his direction sheet.

The last group (which may range anywhere from five to nine in number) will serve as a control group. Their directions tell them to simply record their answers in writing without verbalizing them. The accuracy of their responses will be compared with the accuracy of the responses of the Number 5 players (critical subjects.)

When all groups have completed all eighteen trials, help the students fill out the table on the left designated "Your Study." You will probably have only four to six critical subjects (Number 5 players) but they comprise the critical group. Determine how many critical errors each of them made (a critical error is one in which the critical subject erred in the direction of the majority. Since a critical error can occur only when the group response is not the correct response, a maximum of twelve critical errors is possible by any single critical subject.

Suppose, for example, that two of your critical subjects are completely independent of the majority and make no critical errors. A third makes three critical errors and the fourth makes seven. The mean for the critical group would be total critical errors (10) divided by the number of critical subjects (4), or 2.5. All of the members in your control group should score their papers and their distribution should be plotted in the right-hand column of the table entitled "Your Study."

SKILL: Drawing conclusions from experiments

CONCEPT: Majority effect

56→

Once your data is tabulated you are ready to have the students state their conclusions (based only upon their own study.) If all went well, it may be that you can conclude that at least in small groups a majority may modify the judgment of some people.

If, because of the small number of critical subjects or for other reasons, the students' study did not work out this way, you may still resort to the original data, taken from a much larger number of critical subjects, under better conditions, to make your point.

Your students will be interested to know that Asch found that increasing the size of the group beyond a majority of four did not seem to increase the majority effect. Providing just one other person, however, to support the critical subject by always giving the correct answer, reduced the majority effect markedly.

SKILL: Interviewing

58

Through these interviews, we may be able to get more insight into why they allowed themselves to be persuaded by the majority (or in the case of the independents, why they were not influenced.) Asch followed up his study in the same way with interesting results.

GENERALIZATION: Individuals may be influenced by dominant values of the group.

This experiment should at least suggest the possibility that an individual who joins a political group may be influenced in many respects by the dominant values of that group, especially if those values are held by a near majority. It might also be interesting to explore the relevance of this experiment to other areas of life (family, peer group, clubs, etc.)

THE DIRECTIONS AND TRIAL SHEETS FOR THIS EXPERIMENT ARE THE YELLOW PAGES IN THIS TEACHER MANUAL.

LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

1. The answer, of course, depends upon one's conception of democracy, but even with the direction and decisions resting with a small proportion of the whole number, considerable dispersion of influence is possible, and the rank and file may hold the leaders accountable through elections. It is also possible that different kinds of political decisions may be made by different groups of leaders (school decisions, for instance, by a group quite different from military decisions, etc.) as the pluralists argue. 59

CONCEPT: Political leader

2. It might be well to point out that "participation is only a rough index, at best, of political influence." We will leave the percentages to you, but it does seem clear that only a distinct minority of American adults are very active in politics.

   Note: Instead of the table appearing in the student manual, as the manual indicates, we will supply each teacher with a transparency containing this data.

SKILL: Identifying desired data

Students could probably estimate more accurately if they knew how much overlap there was in the various percentages. In other words, are those who contribute to political parties and write to congressmen usually the same people or different groups. They also might like some index of influence other than electoral participation.

3. If your class agrees with the opening statement we have missed the boat somewhere. We can hardly consider a majority of adult Americans to be political leaders. In societies with a lower level of education, etc. we would be even less likely to find a large proportion of highly influential individuals. 60

SKILL: Group work
Hypothesis formation

These men hardly sound like political animals; they, in fact, represent a large group who seem not the least inclined to get involved in politics. Dahl's three hypotheses for explaining this phenomenon are as follows:

a. An individual is unlikely to get involved in politics if he places a low valuation on the rewards to be gained from political involvement relative to the rewards expected from other kinds of human activity.

(This is the table referred to on the preceding page--T-14. You may prefer to make a transparency if your school has facilities for doing so.)

VOTING	
ONCE OR MORE IN LAST FOUR YEARS	75%
THREE TIMES OR MORE	47
FIVE TIMES OR MORE	21
DISCUSSING PUBLIC ISSUES WITH OTHERS	
DISCUSSES FREQUENTLY AND TAKES EQUAL PART	21
DISCUSSES FREQUENTLY AND TRIES TO CONVINCE OTHERS HE IS RIGHT	6
BELONGING TO ORGANIZATIONS THAT TAKE STANDS	
BELONGS TO ONE OR MORE SUCH ORGANIZATION	31
BELONGS TO TWO OR MORE	7
WRITTEN OR TALKED TO CONGRESSMAN OR OTHERS PUBLIC OFFICIAL TO GIVE OWN OPINION ON ISSUE	
ONE OR MORE TIMES IN PAST YEAR	13
TWO OR MORE TIMES IN PAST YEAR	7
WORKED FOR ELECTION OF POLITICAL CANDIDATE IN LAST FOUR YEARS	11
CONTRIBUTED MONEY TO A PARTY OR CANDIDATE IN LAST FOUR YEARS	7

b. An individual is unlikely to get involved in politics if he thinks that the probability of his influencing the outcome of events, of changing the balance of rewards by means of his political involvement, is low.

c. An individual is unlikely to get involved in politics if he believes that the outcome will be relatively satisfactory to him without his involvement.

Some apt illustrations of these three points are given in Robert Dahl, Modern Political Analysis, pp. 60-63.

SKILL: Hypothesis testing

61

Encourage the students to be creative in thinking up good ways to test one of the hypotheses. You may want to hear some of the better suggestions in class and see what criticisms other members can lodge against them.

4. Neither you nor your students will be at much of a loss to answer this one. Physical strength, heredity, intelligence, property, appointment, and free election are just a few of the bases for selection at various times and places. 61

CONCEPT: Value judgment

This is our first effort to confront value judgments head-on. Of course we are all constantly making value judgments--they are an essential part of life. But it wouldn't hurt to be able to make them with a little more understanding of what we are doing. The major task at this point is to bring students to the understanding that most things valued are valued because they are perceived to lead to something upon which even greater value is placed. Free elections, for instance, are viewed as "good" not because they have much value in their own right, but because they contribute to some other things we consider good--underlying values such as getting honest people for leaders, giving the entire electorate an opportunity to influence certain policy questions, etc. 62

GENERALIZATION; Many leaders do not seek influence

5. Many political leaders do not get into politics by actively seeking influence, but are invited, or even persuaded, to do jobs that need to be done. 62

6. Campaigns usually turn out to be strenuous and demanding upon the candidate, but this may have some value for the society in that the electorate can see the candidate under stress and judge his ability to perform when the going is rough. Your class may also want to discuss to what extent Mr. Voorhis needed the same resources in the campaign that he would need once elected to office (pleasant personality, public speaking ability, friends, money, education, knowledge of the issues, to name a few.) 70

7. The issue of "Communism in Government" was, of course, the primary issue throughout this campaign. It obviously emerged because at least one of the candidates thought this would strike the most responsive chord with the voters--thus getting him the most votes. The point is that elections are likely to be fought on those issues that best stir the emotions of the rank-and-file whether or not these issues are the most important matters of policy awaiting a decision.

SKILL: Analyzing value statements

Students may well be offended by some of the tactics used by both sides in this bitter election battle. But when they describe what they think was wrong, point out to them that they are making another value judgment and attempt to push them into probing for the underlying values that they believe suffered in this campaign. 76

8. Some of the very important factors were Kennedy's organization, the Kennedy tea parties, the appeal of his family, and his Irish background. Almost neglected in the campaign were such important issues as Korea, McCarthy, and most national issues. 76

The basic problem here was probably that on the issues the candidates were very close together. They were vulnerable on many of the same points and their views on many important issues coincided. The choice was made, then, on the basis of who the voters thought more attractive, able, honest, etc. 83

It may well be that the similarity of stands was more than coincidence. The two parties may each have been attempting to nominate candidates palatable to voters on certain key issues and read the political climate the same way. Thus an important part of the selection process had been completed before the general election ever started.

The election still gave voters an opportunity to cast their vote with the candidate in whom they had the most confidence. It may also have fulfilled an educational function, making the people more aware of issues, and the candidates more aware of what the people wanted. Your class will be able to think of other positive arguments.

9. Kennedy could well have used more manpower that night, and a more experienced organization to adjust to the unexpected turn of events. He could also have made good use of some of Kefauver's contacts, built up over the years in Congress, or even the humorous banter of Humphrey to woo a few more delegations to his side. As an interesting sidelight, ask your students what they think Kennedy's chances for the presidential nomination in 1960 would have been if he had won this nomination for vice-president in 1956. Most commentators think his chances would have been pretty slim, since he would have been associated with a losing cause.	83

POLITICAL ISSUES

1. For the next few days you will be playing a game which illustrates some political processes. Play it like you would any game--to win--but try to remember what happens as the game unfolds. We will be referring to things that occur in the game later in our study.

2. Suppose everyone in the community had agreed that downtown redevelopment should be carried out. Would it then have been an issue? _____

   Why? _____

   What, then, is necessary for an issue to arise? _____

   _____

   _____

3. What was your position on downtown redevelopment? For ____ Against ____ What reasons did you give for your position in the negotiations? Put them in the boxes entitled "reasons."

   Reasons _____ _____ _____

   _____ _____ _____

   Values _____ _____ _____

   _____ _____ _____

   As you discuss these items in class, listen for reasons that your friends used in the negotiation. Add them in the boxes below.

   Reasons _____ _____ _____

   _____ _____ _____

   Values _____ _____ _____

   _____ _____ _____

   If these are the reasons that people felt the way they did on an issue, they probably concern things that are viewed as desirable in one way or another by these people. We will call these "desirable" things values since they represent something the individual views as having worth. What are the values underlying the reasons you have listed? Put them in the boxes below the reasons and draw arrows to those reasons that rest upon that value. What values do you think were most important in the park issue? (Reply in blanks on following page.)

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

What were the underlying values in the low-cost housing issue?

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

Can you now make any general statement as to why people in the community might differ over how issues should be settled?

4. Suppose, for a moment, that everyone in the community agreed upon which values were most important. Might there still be conflicts? _____ If your answer is yes, tell what these conflicts would be over. _____

_____

5. If we view the ways different people played the community politics game as examples of political activity, then we can ask what was accomplished by these political activities?

_____

_____

_____

6. Read the selection entitled "A Political Issue." Was there a conflict in this case? _____ Who was the conflict between? _____

_____

What were the values involved in the issue?

_____ _____

_____ _____

_____ _____

How was it finally resolved? _____

_____

_____

7. In your own words, describe what seems to be the primary functions of political activity.

_____

_____

_____

_____

8. Political leaders are confronted with a vast assortment of issues which need to be resolved. In the reading "A Day in the Life of Congressman Dirksen," which was written in a wartime year (1943), we get an idea of the variety of issues with which the political activity must cope. Not all of Everett Dirksen's activities, when he was a congressman, were devoted to resolving issues but many were. Select three issues which appear in the story and see if you can identify what values were at stake for each of them.

	ISSUE	VALUES
a.	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____

COMMUNITY POLITICS GAME

Players: This game can be played by a class of from 20 to 40 students. Each student will draw a political role to play. These roles, designated by occupation, carry a certain number of "political resource units." These represent political resources which are available to that person by virtue of his status in the community, his money, his control over jobs, and his vote. All or any portion of these PRU's can be converted into political influence in an election.

The publisher and editor of the newspaper shall be responsible for publishing a dittoed newspaper on the third and sixth days of the game (see section on Newspaper.)

The Fire Chief and Police Chief are not eligible to run for the council or mayor, and will serve as scorekeepers. It shall be their responsibility to keep the master scoresheet current following each election and issue. A copy of the scoresheet will be posted on the bulletin board at the beginning of each session.

Objective: The objective for each player is to increase the number of resource units at his disposal. This may be done by getting bonus points for being elected to public office, by getting a dividend for support of successful candidates for office, and by getting a return on issue-decisions which benefit the player.

Schedule: The game will last for seven class periods (one period a day). The schedule of events will be as follows:

First Day
Players draw their roles.
The teacher explains rules of the game.
Players circulate nominating petition and present to teacher within 10 minutes.
Nominees campaign for office (time remaining).

Second Day
Nominees campaign for office, rounding up support.
Election: Players commit PRU's on ballot.

Third Day
Negotiation: Issue #1 "Downtown Renewal"
Council Meeting: Discussion of Issue and Council vote.

Fourth Day
Nominees present petitions for second election to teacher within first 5 minutes.
Nominees campaign for office.
Second Election: Players commit PRU's on ballot.

Fifth Day
Negotiation: Issue #2 "Park Development"
Council Meeting: Discussion of Issue #2 and Council vote.

Sixth Day
Negotiation: Issue #3 "Low-cost housing project"
Council Meeting: Discussion of Issue #3 and Council vote.

Seventh Day
Nominees present petitions for third election to teacher within first 5 minutes.
Nominees campaign for office.
Third Election: Players commit PRU's on ballot.

Elections: The City Council shall be composed of five members, including the Mayor, elected at large. Anyone elected to the post of councilman receives an automatic bonus of two resource units by virtue of his authoritative position in the policy-making process. The person elected mayor receives three resource units.

Candidates become nominees by depositing a petition with the teacher which includes the names of at least three other players. Players may sign two petitions each election. All players except the Fire Chief and Police Chief may run for office. Candidates may round up support by securing the promises of other players to give them as many PRU's as possible in the election. On election day each player fills out his ballot by committing resource units to certain candidates. He may commit as many units as he thinks wise, and they can be distributed as he pleases among the candidates. He may choose to commit no PRU's but he is limited in his total commitment to the number he has available. Whatever is committed will be converted to influence to help in the election of that candidate. Candidates may, of course, commit their own resource units to their own election. Sample ballots might look like this:

Mayor	PRU's committed
Ted R.	4
John T.	-2
Council	
Susan V.	2

Signed: Ted Rickman
Role No. 6

Mayor	PRU's committed
Council	
Larry T.	2
Paul S.	1
Fran M.	1

Signed: Jean Barret
Role No. 14

To be counted, ballots must be signed. After the election, they become public property and may be examined by any player.

The candidate for mayor who has the most resource units committed to him in the ballot count wins the election. Similarly the four candidates for councilman with the highest number of committed PRU's are elected.

If a player has committed resource units to the winning candidate, he gets those units back with a 50% dividend. If he has committed resource units to a losing candidate he gets only 50% of them back.

Players may exercise influence against the election of a candidate by committing resource units against his candidacy. These negative units are deducted from the candidate's total count. Negative units pay a 50% dividend if the candidate is defeated, but if the candidate wins in spite of them, only 50% may be reclaimed by the contributing player.

After each election the two scorekeepers must:

(1) check ballots to see that no one has committed more PRU's than they had at their disposal.

(2) total the number of resource units committed to each candidate and declare the winners.

Before the next election the scorekeepers must:

(1) record in the master scoresheet, any election bonuses, dividends, losses, and the new total PRU's available for each player. This will be done according to the following formula:

OLD TOTAL +	Any election bonuses (units earned by virtue of election to council (2) or mayor (3)	+ DIVIDENDS (50% of all units committed to winning candidates or against losing candidates.)	-LOSSES (50% of all units committed to losing candidates or against winning candidates.)	= NEW TOTAL

No player's resources may be reduced below one PRU. (It is assumed he will always have at least his own vote to convert into influence, if nothing else.)

Issues: Issues will be introduced before the Council one at a time in the order shown in the schedule (p. 1). No other issues may be considered, and no substitutions, amendments, or changes of any kind may be made in these three issues as stated.

By consulting the issue-return columns of the master score sheet, a player may find how much he stands to gain or lose with the passage of each issue. He then has to decide (1) whether he wishes to exercise influence in the resolution of this issue, (2) what kinds of bargains, promises, or trades he is in a position to make, and (3) where he can most effectively direct his influence. He may wish to enter into an informal coalition with other members to bring concentrated influence to bear upon one or more officials.

The Council is the authoritative decision-making body on all three issues. Policy decisions are made by each member (including the Mayor) casting one vote. At least three "aye" votes are needed for passage of a bill. Four members of the Council constitute a quorum. Councilmen may vote "aye," "nay," or "abstain" on any issue. All voting, as well as discussion of the issues, shall be conducted by the Mayor according to parliamentary law and be done in public.

After an issue is decided by vote of the Council, the scorekeepers will revise the number of PRU's available to each player on the master score-sheet based upon the return as indicated in the issue-return column of the scoresheet.

The following bills are, during the course of the game, considered by the City Council:

#1 Downtown Redevelopment:

The downtown area of the community will be renovated. Substandard buildings will be condemned, razed, and new modern buildings erected. Parking facilities will be expanded and the main street widened. Fifty per cent of the cost will be borne by the federal government, the balance will be financed by an increase in the tax upon utilities.

#2 Park Development:

A new 17 acre park will be built in an outlying area to provide additional recreational facilities for children, families, and local organizations. Cost of this development will be financed by an increase in the tax upon personal and real property.

#3 Low-Cost Housing Project:

An area of two square blocks of sub-standard private dwellings will be condemned and razed. The city will build new apartment complexes on this property to rent to low-income families at minimal rental prices. A portion of the cost will be financed by the rental income, but the balance will be paid from the portion of the sales tax collected by the state and returned to the city treasurer's office.

Paper: The editor and the publisher will write stories for two editions of a dittoed newspaper. The first issue will appear on the third day (during negotiation on "downtown redevelopment"); the second issue will be on the newstand the sixth day (during negotiations on the "low-cost housing.") The newspaper may include news articles about issues and elections, editorials expressing the opinions of the editor and publisher, and letters to the editor contributed by other players.

PETITION

Petition for the office of: Mayor ☐
Councilman ☐

I support _____ for the nomination to this public

office in the first / second / third election.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

PETITION

Petition for the office of: Mayor ☐
Councilman ☐

I support _____ for the nomination to this public

office in the first / second / third election.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

PETITION

Petition for the office of: Mayor ☐
Councilman ☐

I support _____ for the nomination to this public

office in the first / second / third election.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

First
Ballot Second
Third

Election

Mayor

Role No.

PRU's Committed

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

Council

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

Signed: _____

Role No. ___

First
Ballot Second
Third

Election

Mayor

Role No.

PRU's Committed

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

Council

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

Signed: _____

Role No. ___

First
Ballot Second
Third

Election

Mayor

Role No.

PRU's Committed

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

Council

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

_____ _____ _____

Signed: _____

Role No. ___

Role	Name	Starting PRU's	+ 1st elect. bonus	+ dividends 1st. elect.	' losses 1st elect.	+ Return issue #1	" NEW TOTAL	+ 2nd elect. bonus	+ dividends 2nd elect.	' losses 2nd elect.	+ return issue #2	+ return issue #3	" NEW TOTAL	+ 3rd elect. bonus	+ dividends 3rd elect.	' loses 3rd elect.	" FINAL TOTAL	issue #1 (downtown)	issue #2 (parks)	issue #3 (housing)
1	office worker	3																+2	-3	-1
2	Labor leader	7																-2	+1	+3
3	Realtor	5																+1	+2	-3
4	Laborer	1																-1	+1	+4
5	Minister	4																+1	+1	+4
6	Salesman	2																+1	-2	-3
7	Main street merchant	9																+3	-2	-1
8	Newspaper editor	5																+4	+1	-1
9	Teacher	2																-2	+2	+2
10	Housewife	2																-2	-3	+1
11	Unemployed	1																-2	+1	+3
12	Laborer	1																-2	-2	+2
13	Doctor	6																+4	+1	-1

Role	Name		Starting PRU's	+ 1st elec. bonus	+ dividends 1st elect.	- losses 1st elect.	+ Return issue #1	= NEW TOTAL	+ 2nd elect. bonus	+ dividends 2nd elect.	- losses 2nd elect.	+ return issue #2	+ return issue #3	= NEW TOTAL	+ 3rd elect. bonus	+ dividends 3rd elect.	- losses 3rd elect.	= FINAL TOTAL	issue #1 (downtown)	issue #2 (parks)	issue #3 (housing)
14	Doctor	3																	-2	+2	-2
15	Newspaper publisher	8																	+3	+1	-2
16	Fire Chief	4																	+2	-3	+1
17	Main Street Merchant	6																	+4	-1	-1
18	Housewife	2																	-1	+3	-2
19	Police Chief	5																	+3	+1	+2
20	Retired	3																	+1	+4	+1
21	Executive (management)	10																	-2	-2	-2
22	Salesman (downtown)	3																	+2	-3	-1
23	Supt. of Schools	6																	-2	+1	+3
24	Dentist (neighborhood ofc.)	4																	-3	-1	-2
25	Laborer	2																	+1	-2	-3
26	TV Repairman	1																	-1	-2	-3
27	Lawyer (neighborhood ofc)	6																	-2	-3	-1

Role	Name		Starting PRU's	+ 1st elect. bonus	+ dividends 1st elect.	' losses 1st elect.	+ Return issue #1	" NEW TOTAL	+ 2nd elect bonus	+ dividends 2nd elect.	' losses 2nd elect.	+ return issue #2	+ return issue #3	" NEW TOTAL	+ 3rd elect. bonus	+ dividends 3rd elect.	' losses 3rd elect.	" FINAL TOTAL	issue #1 (downtown)	issue #2 (parks)	issue #3 (housing)
28	Mail Carrier	2																	-2	-2	-2
29	Office Worker	2																	+1	-3	+2
30	Laborer	1																	-1	+3	+2
31	Executive Management	7																	-2	-1	-3
32	Teacher	1																	-3	-2	+1
33	Main Street Merchant	8																	+4	-1	-1
34	Salesman (neighborhood store)	1																	-2	+2	-2
35	Laborer	2																	+1	+3	+2
36	Housewife	1																	+1	+3	+2
37	Retired	1																	-1	+2	+3
38	Plumber	2																	+1	+2	-3
39	Housewife	1																	-2	+3	+1
40	Unemployed	1																	-2	-3	+1

POLITICAL DECISIONS

1. When the city council, in your community politics game, voted on the low-cost housing project (Issue #3) what, in effect, was it doing?

_____

_____

2. Political scientists refer to this as a political decision. As you can see, this step of the political process is an extremely important one. If in your game, the low-cost housing project passed in the Council, we can say that they decided to follow a new course of action. Is this the same as actually redistributing values? _____

What else, if anything, needs to be done before the redistribution of values is accomplished?

_____

_____

_____

3. As you read "A College for Jefferson County?" see if you can identify and state in your own words:

a. the issue: _____

_____

b. the values involved: _____

_____

c. the political decision: _____

_____

Are political decisions always made by legislative bodies such as the city council in your community politics game? Where else may they be made?

_____

_____

4. In a baseball game we see many conflicts occurring over decisions which have to be made. Who decides whether a man sliding home with the winning run is safe or out? _____.

Is there ever disagreement over the decision? _____.

Who has the final say? _____

Why do both teams eventually accept that decision, even though they may not agree with it?

_____

_____

_____

Who do the players, managers, and fans view as having the right to make such decisions?

_____

_____

Let's look again at the decisions made in the Community Politics Game. By what group were they made?

_____

Did the players in the game question the right of this body to make the decisions? _____

Why, or why not? _____

_____

_____

When a person, or group, occupies a position in which they are viewed by others in the system as having the right to make binding decisions, we refer to this as authority. Can you think of a situation, other than sports, in which authority lies in one person?

_____

_____

Who is the person in a position of authority? _____

Where was authority vested for the decision in the Jefferson County College case?

_____

In your opinion, did the Board of Supervisors have the authority to make the decision by itself? _____

Why might they have preferred to let the decision be made by a public referendum (that is, by referring the issue to the voters for decision)?

_____

_____

5. Would our baseball umpire be viewed as having authority to rule that a batter is out because his easy ground ball took a bad hop over the shortstop's shoulder? _____

Why, or why not? _____

_____

What does this indicate about the authority of the umpire? _____

_____

_____

_____

Did the city council in the community politics game have the authority to decide to suspend elections? _____

Why, or why not? _____

_____

_____

Does the council in your own community have the authority to suspend elections? _____

To require all citizens to go to one certain church? _____

To pave a certain street? _____

What, in general, can we say about the authority of a political decision-maker?

_____

_____

_____

_____

6. Listen to the "Ways of Mankind" record entitled "Legend of the Longhouse: A Study in Authority." What problems would a society face if no authority were exercised?

_____

What must a society do beyond establishing the authority of certain decision-making roles?

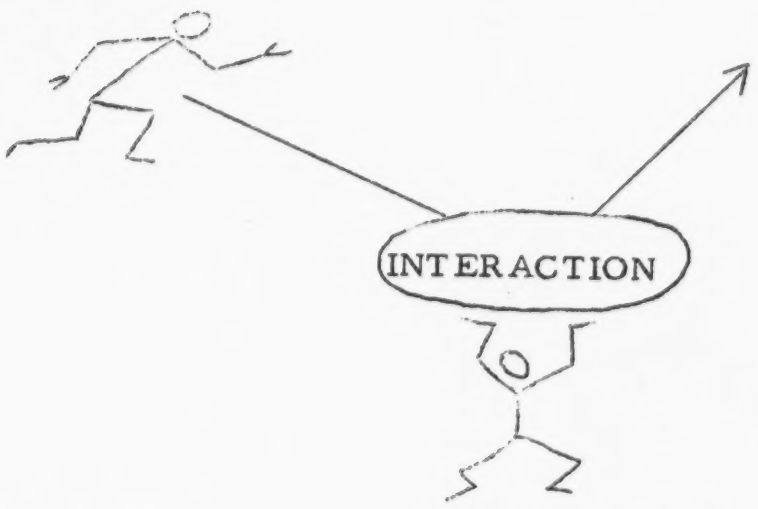
What ways can you think of for doing this?

Not all authority relationships are within what we normally think of as the political system. How many decision-making situations can you think of in other areas of life where an authority relationship exists?

Example of Decision	Role		Role
		Exercises authority over	
		Exercises authority over	
		Exercises authority over	
		Exercises authority over	

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

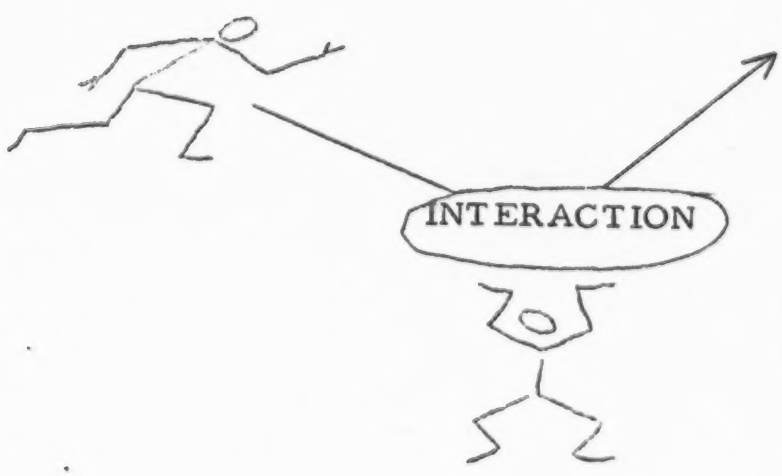
1. Have you ever done something you would not have done except for your relationship with another person or group? If your answer is "no" you had better check your pulse to make sure you're still alive. Virtually everyone's behavior is affected (whether for good or bad) by his relations with others. Can you think of a recent instance when you have acted in a way you would not have except for interaction with someone else?



What you did.

What you would have done except for relationship with someone else.

We may think of this kind of relationship as an influence relationship. You can probably think of a situation in which you have influenced other people in their behavior.



What he did.

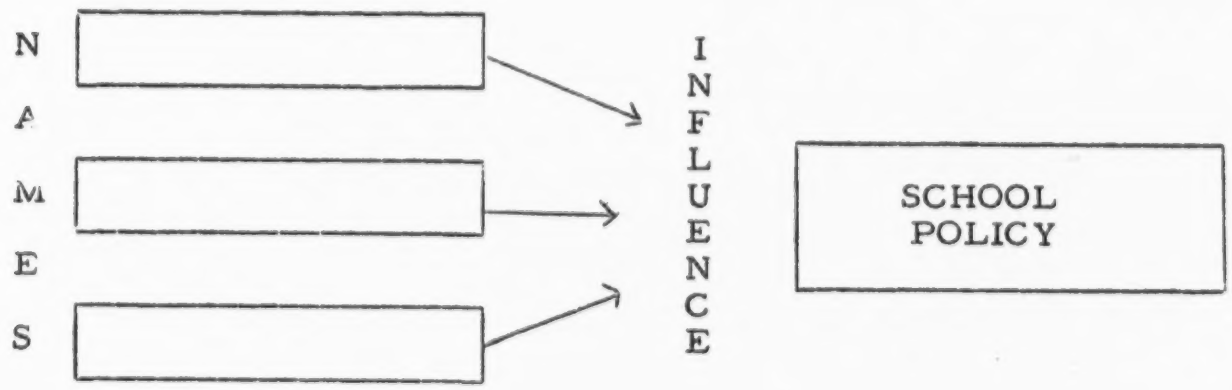
What he would have done except for his relationship with you.

2. What three students in your school do you think exercise most influence over the acts of others in the school? The question will be hard to answer unless you indicate the types of acts over which they exercise influence (dress, slang, class conduct, etc.). If your school is like most, there are certain policies set up concerning student conduct. Do these policies affect student behavior? _____ Give an example.

_____

_____

Whoever affects school policy must, then, be affecting the actions of others (that is, exercising influence.) What three people do you think most affect school policy in your school?



3. Did the players in your community politics game exercise influence? Give two specific instances that you recall when an influence relationship existed.

a. _____ influenced _____ to _____

_____ instead of

_____

b. _____ influenced _____ to _____

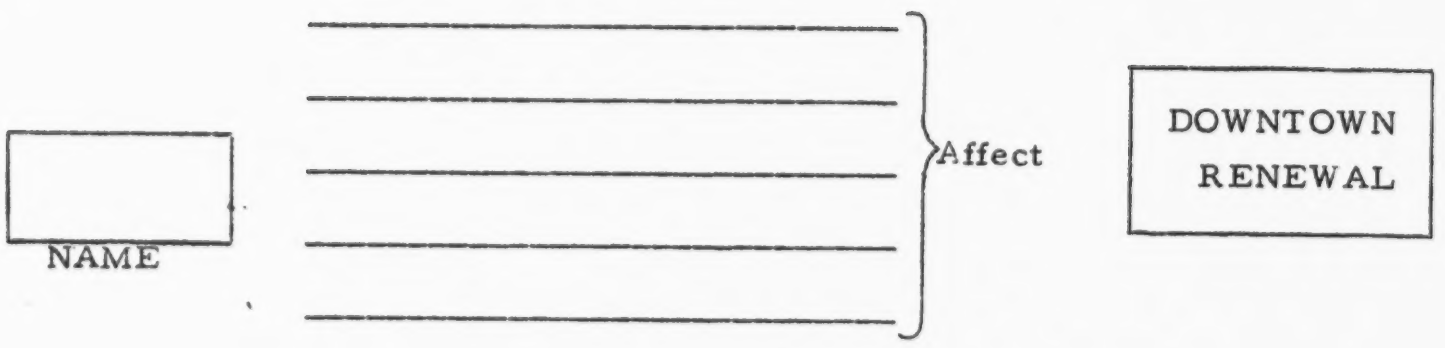
_____ instead of

_____

4. Influence of the sort illustrated in items 2 and 3 is directed toward affecting policy, which affects, in turn, the behavior of other individuals. We may call such influence upon public policy political influence. Which player in your game do you think had the greatest political influence on downtown renewal (issue #1)? _____.

What things did he do to have such an effect upon the decision?

INFLUENCE ACTS



5. Interview your father (or mother) tonight to get some information about your local community. After assuring him that you will not use his name in your class analysis, ask this question: "Suppose you were interested in bringing about the renewal of the downtown area. What three men in the community would you like to have behind you?" For each answer you get, follow up by asking why he would want the support of that man.

	OCCUPATION	WHY SUPPORT WANTED
a.		
b.		
c.		

What about the Jefferson County College Case? Who exercised political influence upon community policy on this issue? How?

	INFLUENTIALS	INFLUENCE ACTS	
a.	_____	_____	INFLUENCE
	_____	_____	
b.	_____	_____	College Issue
	_____	_____	
c.	_____	_____	

You can see that when we start exploring a political system, the question of "who exercises influence" becomes very important. There is a problem here, though. How can you say that one person exercises more influence than another unless you have some way of measuring influence? Scholars are working on this very problem, but have not come up with entirely satisfactory solutions. Do you have any ideas about how we might be able to measure influence?

_____

_____

_____

Are there some people in your school who, day in and day out, are more influential in affecting school policy than others? _____.

Were there some people who, throughout the community politics game, exercised more influence than others? _____

Are there some people in Springdale who are more influential than others? _____.

In your own community would you find some people who are generally more influential than others? _____.

What general statement can we make about the distribution of influence in all of these systems? Put it in your own words.

_____

_____

Do you know of any political system, past or present, in which everyone exercises the same amount of influence? If you do, suggest it to the class and see if they agree that influence was evenly distributed in that political system.

POLITICAL RESOURCES

1. Read the two character sketches on Paul Douglas and Ellen Smalley. Who would you say probably could exercise more political influence?

_____

In these sketches you have not seen influence actually being exercised. What, then, leads you to believe one could exercise more political influence than the other?

_____

_____

Let's try to list those things which each might find useful in exercising influence.

ELLEN SMALLEY	PAUL DOUGLAS

2. In the economics unit we called things which were useful for production or distribution economic "resources." In much the same way we may call things which are useful in the exercise of political influence political resources.

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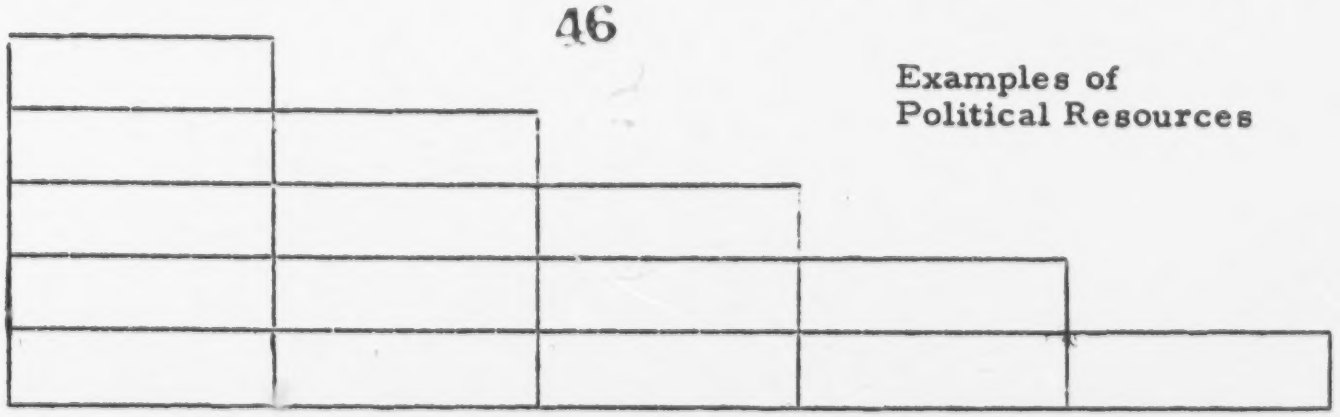
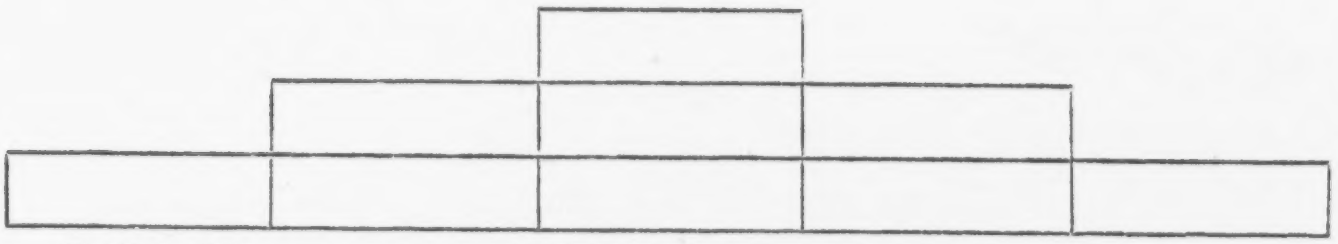
Examples of
Political Resources



Can you find additional political resources which were used by "influentials" in Jefferson County? Add them to your chart above.

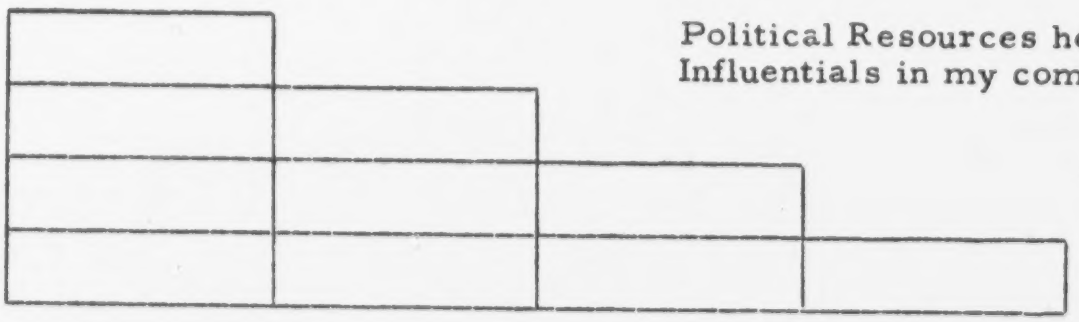
3. What are some political resources that would be most useful in influencing the policy of your school?



Political Resources Useful in Affecting School Policy

Does everyone in the school have all these resources? _____

4. What political resources do the "influentials" in your community (as identified by your interviews which you held earlier) have at their command? For some suggestions, you might review the list of "reasons" which were given you for including them on the list.



Political Resources held by Influentials in my community

5. Would you argue that everyone in a political system has the same political resources at their command? _____

What general statement can you make about the distribution of political resources in a political system?

_____

_____

_____

6. Can political resources be used for anything other than influencing policy? _____

Give an example or two.

	Resource	Other Use
a.	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____

Let's assume, for the sake of discussion, that we know two men. Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones, who possess almost identical political resources. Yet, Mr. Smith exercises far more political influence than Mr. Jones. How might you explain this?

Does everyone who has political resources in your school use them to affect school policy? _____ Why?

PAUL H. DOUGLAS[1]

Born in Salem, Massachusetts in 1892, Paul H. Douglas (Democrat) has had a varied and distinguished career, as an internationally known economist, and Marine Corps War veteran.

Paul Douglas was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1913. Graduate work at Harvard and Columbia Universities, with a Ph. D. degree at the latter school. He entered a teaching career and later government service, then came to the University of Chicago in 1920, where he was promoted to Professor of Economics in 1925.

Mr. Douglas served as Chairman of the Board of Arbitration for the Newspaper Publishing Industry from 1925 to 1942, handing down eighty-five decisions. He served the longest term on record in this work. He has served on many state and national commissions. He was drafted by Franklin D. Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, to serve as Secretary of the New York Committee to Stabilize Employment. He later worked under President Roosevelt on the Consumers Advisory Board of the N.R.A., was active in drafting the original Social Security Act, and was a member of the Advisory Committee to the U.S. Senate on the revision of this Act.

Mr. Douglas drafted the first old age pension act passed by the Illinois Legislature in 1935 and helped draft the State unemployment insurance act of 1937. Appointed to the State Housing Commission in 1930 serving to 1933. He led the fight in the 1930's to reduce electricity and gas rates and to protect investors in private utilities from financial manipulation. He was recruited to draft the Utilities Act of 1933. Elected a Chicago Alderman from the Fifth Ward in 1939.

Mr. Douglas enlisted as a private in United States Marine Corps in May 1942; served with First Marine Division, advancing through ranks to grade of Lieutenant Colonel. He was twice wounded at Pelelieu and Okinawa and was awarded a Bronze Star for "heroic achievement in action." Returned to Chicago in late 1946 and resumed his position on the University of Chicago faculty. Author of many books on economic subjects, which have made him internationally known in this field. Mr. Douglas was elected Senator on November 2, 1948, for the term expiring January 3, 1955, re-elected Senator for a second term on November 2, 1954, for the term expiring January 3, 1961, and re-elected for a third term on November 8, 1960 for the term expiring January 2, 1967. Elected President of the American Economic Association in 1947 which is the highest honor in his profession. He is a member of the Society of Friends and the Unitarian Church, and a member of the American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the Chicago Literary Club. Married Emily Taft Douglas, daughter of the famous sculptor, Lorado Taft. Mrs. Douglas was Congresswoman-at-Large from Illinois 1945 to 1947.

1. Paul H. Douglas, State of Illinois Blue Book, 1963-64.

ELLEN SMALLEY

BORN in Mattoon, Illinois, April 15, 1933, Ellen Smalley grew up in a home where politics were seldom discussed. After completion of high school she married Harold Smalley and the two moved to Chicago, Illinois. Ellen took a polition as clerk-stenographer in a Chicago business firm which she has held, on and off, for the last fourteen years. The Smalley's now have four children, and most of Ellen's hours off work are devoted to the care of her family. During the day she hired part-time help to stay with the young children. Her husband is currently employed by an electronics firm and earns a monthly salary of $450. This, together with what Ellen can bring home provides them with just enough to meet their growing expenses. They have, over the years, been able to save a few hundred dollars for hospital bills or other emergencies.

Ellen has never alligned herself with a political party, feeling that she had neither the background nor the desire to contribute much to them. She has voted twice, both in presidential elections, casting her ballot for the candidate which seemed more attractive and honest to her. She plays bridge twice a month with some girls she has met at the office, but belongs to no other organizations.

The Smalley family subscribes to a daily newspaper, but Ellen does not usually read stories concerning domestic or international politics, as she feels they have little bearing upon her life. Her husband keeps up with the news well enough to keep her informed about major developments and she finds her attitudes closely reflect his opinions.

POLITICAL GROUPS

1. Let's assume that the issue of whether or not 18-year olds should be permitted to vote has arisen in your state. What, of your own political resources, would you be willing to commit to have this issue decided the way you believe it should be? List them in the left-hand column below. Be sure to include the amount of each resource where appropriate.

MY STRATEGY FOR INFLUENCING STATE GOVERNMENT ON ISSUES OF 18-YEAR OLD VOTE

Political Resources I Would Commit	How Political Resources Would Be Used

How would you, acting by yourself, attempt to use these resources to exert the most possible influence upon the state government? Put your answers in the right-hand column above.

Your teacher will give you some notecards. Place each of the above resources on a separate card. Also state the way you think the issue should be decided ("for" or "against" an 18-year old vote) and sign your name on each card. What approach to influencing policy, other than individual action of the above kind, can you think of?

_____

_____

2. Let your teacher collect your resource cards and split them into two groups--"for" and "against" the 18-year old vote. Each group may then meet to develop the most effective strategy possible for influencing the state government on this issue, working with the combined resources. Enter the resultes of your group session in the table on the next page.

GROUP STRATEGY FOR INFLUENCING STATE GOVERNMENT ON ISSUES OF 18-YEAR OLD VOTE

Political Resources Available to Group	How Political Resources Would be Used

3. Which of the two approaches (individual or group) to exerting influence upon the state government do you believe is more effective? _____ Why?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

d. _____

What general statement can you make concerning the effectiveness of groups in the political process?

_____

_____

_____

4. You may remember from your unit on the family that we found the term group was often used in a special way by social scientists. We found that just having two or more people was not enough; even if they all have a common characteristic (e.g., red hair) they may not be a group. What is needed for two or more people to be a group? Usually at least two characteristics are required. Do you remember what they are?

a. _____

b. _____

5. Do you recall any instance in the community politics game when a group (other than the council) organized? _____ Describe the situation.

_____

_____

Why was the group formed? _____

_____

_____

_____

Did it achieve anything that would probably not have been accomplished by individuals acting separately? _____ What?

_____

_____

6. Read the letter from Clem Miller entitled "Walnuts and Chickens." Which of the two interests achieved the best results from their standpoint?

_____

Why do you think they were more successful than the other interest?

_____

_____

_____

Does this tend to confirm your general statement in item 5 above? _____

_____

7. Read the selection entitled "The Doctors Exercise Group Influence." What was the central political issue in this episode?

_____

_____

What were the "things of value" which the doctors were interested in?

_____

_____

How did Dr. Conn choose to attempt to exercise influence? _____

_____

Was he acting individually or as a member of a group? _____

What resources did the doctors have which they could convert into political influence? How did they use these resources? Put your answers in the table below.

STRATEGY OF THE DOCTORS

Doctor's Political Resources	How Resources Were Used For Political Purposes

Does their attempt to exert influence appear to have been effective? ____

What evidence do you have? _____

_____

_____

Were the doctors satisfied with attempting to influence the present decision makers (administration officials, Senator Pepper, Congressmen Cavalcante, for instance) who held office at the time? _____

What other steps, if any, did they take to get what they wanted?

_____

_____

_____

In general, then, how may influence be exerted, aside from influencing decision-makers already in office?

_____

_____

Was this kind of influence exercised at any point in your community politics game? _____ Describe the situation.

_____

_____

_____

8. In "Something New on Elm Street" we see a somewhat different form of political group being formed. If you were a member of this neighborhood club do you think your political influence would be increased? _____

How might your group influence policy?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

You will remember that we found that resources (time, money, etc.) could be used in many ways. Exercising political influence is just one of the possible ways in which your resources may be allocated. Do you think that, if you belonged to a neighborhood club such as this one, you would be inclined to allocate <u>more</u> or <u>fewer</u> resources to political activity?

_____ Why? _____

_____

_____

Based upon the results of this experiment, what conclusions would you draw?

_____

_____

_____

How do your results compare with those of S. E. Asch who first performed this experiment with a somewhat larger number of critical subjects? Comparison:

_____

_____

_____

Professor Asch's conclusions are reprinted below:

Where are his conclusions different, in any important way, from your own?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

Your teacher will designate someone to interview each of your critical subjects to attempt to discover why he responded the way he did. What reasons do they give for any errors?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

Do your results give you any indication of how an individual might be affected by membership in a political group?

_____

_____

_____

LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

1. In his famous work Modern Democracies, James Bryce makes the following statement:

> "In all assemblies and groups and organized bodies of men, from a nation down to a committee of a club, direction and decisions rest in the hands of a small percentage, less and less in proportion to the larger size of the body, till in a great population it becomes an infinitesimally small proportion of the whole number. This is and always has been true of all forms of government, though in different degrees."

Do you agree with this statement? _____

Does Bryce's statement conflict with your understanding of democracy? ____

Why or why not? _____

_____

_____

_____

2. We will call the men who are most influential on public issues political leaders. Those who exercise little or no direct political influence we will call followers. One way of attempting to judge who is influential and who is not is to look at various kinds of participation. Study the following table and decide roughly what percentage of adult American citizens might be termed political leaders. _____

What percentage do you say are followers? _____

What other information would you want to be able to give a better answer?

_____

_____

_____

Discuss your estimates with others in the class and see how close you came to their estimates. Try to find out why those who differ from your estimates arrived at different conclusions.

_____

_____

_____

3. Would most of those in your class agree that the majority of adult Americans are political leaders? _____.

What, then, would be your guess about those political systems where the educational level is not so high, only a small percentage can vote, communication is difficult, and democratic institutions may not be in effect? Would these societies be likely to have a majority of political leaders? _____

In Book III of his Politics, Aristotle made the statement: "Man is by nature a political animal." Yet, a leading merchant, when asked if politics was distasteful to him replied:

The president of a manufacturing corporation said:

Do these men sound like "political animals" to you? _____.

Based upon your observation of people you have known, and the little data you have worked with here, do you agree with Aristotle that man is by nature a political animal? _____

One of the questions that has puzzled many people interested in politics is why, in most societies, such a small proportion of the population gets very deeply involved, or even displays much interest, in political events. Your teacher will divide you into groups for a brain-storming session.

See what reasons, or maybe we should call them hypotheses, your group can suggest. After your meetings, someone from each group may report their conclusions to the class and then open the floor to class discussion. Your teacher has some hypotheses based upon a great deal of research and compiled by Robert Dahl. How close did the hypotheses suggested by the class come to those suggested by Dahl? List his hypotheses below in your own words and discuss them in class.

a. _____

_____

b. _____

_____

c. _____

_____

Select one and see if you can think of any way to test it to see if it is correct.

Hypothesis: _____. Test: _____

_____

_____

4. Even though political leaders in most societies comprise a relatively small proportion of the population, every society, of course, needs to have a group of leaders to make basic policy decisions. One of the most important ways political systems differ is in the way they select their leaders. From your knowledge of history and of other societies in the world today, list as many basic ways of selecting political leaders as you can think of:

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

d. _____

e. _____

f. _____

Which of these basic methods do you believe is the best way? _____

You have just made a "value judgment." Whenever we say that something "should" be done a certain way, what we are really saying is that this corresponds best with things that we value. Can you defend your velue judgment by naming the underlying values which you hold important? (It may help to ask yourself what things of value you would be deprived of if the selection of political leaders was made some other way.)

THING VALUED	UNDERLYING VALUES
Method of Selecting Leaders	

5. Let's explore in more depth the way in which our society recruits and selects its political leaders. As you read this excerpt from an interview with a school board member in New Haven, Connecticut, do you get any ideas about how many political leaders get started in political activity?

What does this interview suggest about the way our society recruits and selects some leaders?

_____

_____

_____

Even among those who seek positions of leadership, our society must have a way of selecting those who best fill its needs. The next few readings are about some men who sought leadership positions. In reading them you may get some insights into the mechanics of the selection process and also see what our society demands of these potential leaders before they are selected.

6. Congressman Voorhis had to call upon quite a number of political resources in this one day of campaigning. List a few of them which he used effectively in his attempt to stay in office.

a. _____ e. _____

b. _____ f. _____

c. _____ g. _____

d. _____ h. _____

How do you think a lazy, insincere, or incompetent candidate would have fared on a day like this?

_____

How may a campaign of this sort be valuable to a society in the selection of its political leaders?

_____

_____

_____

_____

7. In "Richard Nixon Runs for the Senate" what issue was most important in determining the winner of the election?

_____

Why do you think this issue emerged so strongly in the campaign that it almost excluded other very important policy issues?

_____

_____

_____

7. (continued)

Could anything have been done in this campaign to have brought about a more complete discussion of other important issues?

_____

_____

Do you see anything wrong with the campaign tactics of the two candidates?

_____. If your answer is yes, tell what. _____

_____

_____

_____

Does this campaign suggest any problems with the method of selecting political leaders used in our society?

_____

_____

_____

8. Now read "John Kennedy Runs for the Senate" describing a campaign which took place two years later. What seem to you to be the deciding factors in this campaign?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

What were some of the important public issues which were almost completely ignored during the campaign?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

8. (continued)

Does this election suggest any further problems with our method of selecting political leaders?

_____

_____

_____

What arguments in favor of our method of selecting leaders are suggested by this reading?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

9. In the reading "Congratulations Jack" we see that a general election campaign is only one of the ways leaders are selected in our society. In some cases a candidate for public office must be selected by a party convention before he may run in the general election. What resources did Kennedy need to get the nomination for vice president in 1956 that he did not have?

a. _____

b. _____

c. _____

Do you see any advantages that a convention has in selecting potential political leaders over other methods of selecting them?

_____

_____

_____

Any disadvantages? _____

_____

_____